

## Message Text

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ACTION IO-03

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 L-02 CIAE-00 INR-10

NSAE-00 RSC-01 AF-04 PM-03 ACDA-10 RSR-01 /059 W

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R 140024 Z JUN 73

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8436

INFO AMEMBASSY TELAVIV

USINT CAIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2246

LIMDIS

E. O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: UNSC, XF, IS

SUBJ: SC DEBATE ON ME: SCALI- TEKOAH MEETING

BEGIN SUMMARY: IN GENERAL REVIEW OF DEBATE TO DATE, BOTH SCALI AND TEKOAH AGREED DEBATE WAS GENERALLY RESPONSIBLE. ZAYYAT HAD NOT YET REVEALED HIS HAND AND, OF COURSE, HAS EMPHASIZED " NON- ACQUISITION OF TERRITORY." THIS COULD CAUSE REAL PROBLEM IN FUTURE DEBATE. THERE WAS, HOWEVER, SOME VERY CAUTIOUS HOPE THAT RENEWED DEBATE COULD END CONSTRUCTIVELY. TEKOAH AGAIN NOTED ISRAEL'S PREFERENCE FOR SYG ACTIVITY. SCALI NOTED MANY MODERATE ARABS AND OTHERS BELIEVE ISRAEL MORE ISOLATED THAN EVERY BEFORE. TEKOAH AT FIRST DENIED AND THEN INDICATED HE WAS NOT CONCERNED. BOTH AGREED THAT THERE WAS MORE COMMENT ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS THAN PREVIOUSLY. THIS IS POTENTIALLY ENCOURAGING AND WILL REQUIRE CAREFUL ANALYSIS. WE NOTED IN CONCLUSION THAT ARABS HAD MISSED MANY OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEACE IN PAST AND WE HOPED YEAR HENCE WE WOULD NOT LOOK BACK AND CONCLUDE ISRAEL HAD MISSED BOAT THIS TIME. END SUMMARY.

1. AT HIS SUGGESTION AMB SCALI MET WITH ISRAELI PERMREP TEKOAH FOR SEVENTY- FIVE MINUTES JUNE 13. ISRAELI MINISTER GORDON AND MISOFF NAAS ALSO PRESENT.

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2. AT OUTSET SCALI STATED THAT HE WANTED TO EXCHANGE IMPRESSIONS AND ASSESSMENTS OF WHERE WE STAND AT THIS POINT IN DEBATE. HE REMARKED THAT ZAYYAT'S EMPHASIS OBVIOUSLY HAS BEEN ON NON- ANNEXATION OF TERRITORY BY WAR. SCALI WONDERED HOW MUCH THIS

POINT WOULD INFLUENCE COURSE OF RESUMED DEBATE IN JULY. TEKOAH REPLIED THAT ZAYYAT WAS OBVIOUSLY ATTEMPTING TO PICK OUT ONE ELEMENT OF RES 242 AND ISRAEL COULD NOT ACCEPT THIS. HE BELIEVED THAT EGYPTIAN CASE HAS NOT COME OVER STRONGLY AND HE NOTED THAT UAE MINSTATE PACHACHI HAD ADMITTED IN DEBATE JUNE 13 THAT ARABS UNDERSTOOD IN 1967 THAT " MINOR AND MUTUALLY AGREED" TERRITORIAL ADJUSTMENTS WERE POSSIBLE. IN EFFECT ZAYYAT'S CENTRAL THESIS HAD BEEN DAMAGED AND HE HAD BEEN VISIBLY UNHAPPY BY PACHACHI'S STATEMENT.

3. AT THIS POINT, TEKOAH CONJECTURED THAT ONE OF TWO THINGS COULD HAPPEN. FOLLOWING THE ADJOURNMENT IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO POSTPONE INDEFINITELY FURTHER SC DEBATE; MANY THINGS CAN HAPPEN IN ONE MONTH AND WE SHOULD NOT DISCOUNT THIS POSSIBILITY. ( SCALI INTERJECTED THAT HE WOULD GIVE HEAVY ODDS AGAINST SUCH A FORTUITIOUS OUTCOME.) SECONDLY, TEKOAH COMMENTED, ATMOSPHERE OF DEBATE SO FAR HAS BEEN SUCH THAT SC MAY BE ABLE TO AGREE ON CONSENSUS CALLING ON SYG AND HIS SPECIAL REP TO CONTINUE THEIR EFFORTS, UNLESS OF COURSE SOMETHING " BLOWS UP IN OUR FACE" WITHIN NEXT FOUR WEEKS. IT WAS IN INTEREST OF ALL SC MEMBERS, TEKOAH EMPHASIZED, TO KEEP ANY CONSENSUS VAGUE SO THAT AN UNENCUMBERED SYG COULD VISIT AREA AND GIVE SHOW OF ACTIVITY. IN MEANTIME, WE WOULD SEE WHAT ELSE COULD BE DONE AND HE NOTED THAT ZAYYAT IN HIS VIEW HAD CAREFULLY NOT CLOSED DOOR TO INTERIM ARRANGEMENT NEGOTIATIONS. OF COURSE, IF ONE PRINCIPLE, THAT OF NON-ANNEXATION, SHOULD BE HIGHLIGHTED, SYG COULD BE BLOCKED BEFORE HE STARTED.

4. SCALI NOTED THAT SO FAR IN DEBATE FUTURE ROLE OF SYG HAD NOT BEEN EMPHASIZED, ALTHOUGHT BOTH FRENCH AND EGYPTIANS HAD MENTIONED " SYG AND HIS SPECIAL REP." THIS DEVELOPMENT WAS ALL TO THE GOOD SINCE IT CAREFULLY KEPT OPEN POSSIBLE FUTURE ROLE OF SYG. ON OUR PART US IS WILLING FOR ANY COMBINATION OF JARRING AND SYG TO BE ACTIVATED " IN ORDER TO GIVE US TIME". SCALI REFERRED AGAIN TO PROBLEM CREATED BY CONTINUED EGYPTIAN EMPHASIS ON NON- ANNEXAION. IT SEEMED TO US, IF WE READ 242 CORRECTLY, THAT THIS RES " NEITHER PRECLUDED NOR ENDORSED THE ACQUISITION  
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OF TERRITORY." TEKOAH AGREED THAT THIS WAS FAIR FORMULATION AND PURPOSE OF 242 WAS TO LEAVE TERRITORIAL QUESION AMBIGUOUS.

5. CHANGING SUBJECT, SCALI SAID THAT MANY REASONABLY MODERATE ARABS AT UN HAVE APPROACHED HIM IN RECENT DAYS TO REMARK THAT ISRAEL, AS A RESULT OF THIS DEBATE, WAS MORE ISOLATED THAN EVER BEFORE AND TO TELL US THAT THEY WEREUNDER STEADILY INCREASING, IRRESISTIBLE PRESSURE. TEKOAH INDICATED HE DID NOT TAKE SUCH COMMENTS SERIOUSLY AND THAT SUCH PEOPLE WERE OBVIOUSLY TRYING TO PRESSURE US. IN APRIL DEBATE SAME PEOPLE HAD SPREAD STORY EGYPT WAS SEEKING CONFRONTATION WITH US IN AN EFFORT TO BRING PRESSURE. IN HIS VIEW ISRAEL IS NO MORE ISOLATED NOW THAN IT EVER WAS; SINCE 1967 AFRICANS AND ARABS HAVE BEEN TRYING TO CREATE

SENSE OF ISOLATION.

6. TURNING BACK TO DEBATE, TEKOA H SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN CERTAIN ADVANTAGES IN SC' S DELIBERATIONS, ALTHOUGH MRS. MEIR AND EBAN MIGHT BE UNHAPPY WITH HIS ADMITTING THIS. AS LONG AS ME SITUATION WAS NOT ANALYZED NOR DISCUSSED, IMPRESSION COULD EXIST THAT ISRAEL WAS ONLY INTRANSIGENT PARTY. HOWEVER, IN HIS OPENING SPEECH HE HAD REMINDED SC OF ALL EFFORTS SINCE 1967 TO FIND PEACEFUL SOLUTION. ISRAEL' S RECORD IN THIS RESPECT IS QUITE GOOD AND NO ONE HAS EFFECTIVELY CHALLENGED THIS RECITATION. IN FACT, SPEAKERS HAVE CONCENTRATED, AND EVEN THEN NOT TO EXTENT HE HAD ANTICIPATED, ON JARRING MEMO. AT ANY RATE, THIS WAS FIRST TIME THERE HAD BEEN FULL AND CAREFUL ANALYSES OF POSITIONS OF BOTH SIDES.

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ACTION IO-03

INFO OCT-01 SS-14 ADP-00 NSC-10 L-02 CIAE-00 INR-10

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R 150024 Z JUN 73

FM USMISSION USUN NY

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8437

INFO AMEMBASSY TELAVIV

USINT CAIRO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 2246

LIMDIS

7 SCALI REPEATED THAT PEOPLE HE HAD BEEN TALKING TO, INCLUDED IRANIAN PERMREP WHO IS VERY MODERATE MAN, ARE NOT LIVING IN DREAM WORLD WHEN THEY CONTINUOUSLY REFER TO INCREASING ISRAELI ISOLATION. TEKOA H AVOIDED DIRECT REPLY AND COMMENTED THAT IRANIAN STATEMENT IN SC JUNE 13 HAD BEEN PARTICULARLY INTERESTING. STATEMENT HAD BEEN MILD ON BORDERS, MUCH Milder THAN USUAL IRANIAN POSITION, AND HAD EMPHASIZED NEED FOR NEGOTIATIONS; HE MUST HAVE KNOWN THAT SUCH EMPHASIS WOULD IRRITATE EGYPT. SCALI SAID HE AGREED IRANIAN STATEMENT WAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST. PERM REP HOVEYDA HAD TOLD HIM AT LUNCH JUNE 13 THAT HOVEYDA WAS NOT IN LEAST UPSET BY LATER EGYPTIAN INTERVENTION RECALLING EGYPTIAN CONDITIONS FOR NEGOTIATIONS; HE HAD IN FACT GONE OVER HIS STATEMENT WITH EGYPTIANS AFTER HE HAD GIVEN IT, AND THEY WERE NOT PERTURBED. TEKOA H WAS MUCH INTERESTED AND ADMITTED THIS MIGHT BE SIGN EGYPT BECOMING MORE READY FOR NEGOTIATIONS.

SCALI STATED THAT BY AND LARGE, WITH EXCEPTION OF SOME

INTERVENTIONS, DEBATE HAD BEEN FAIRLY HIGH LEVEL. THERE HAS BEEN MORE DISCUSSION AND COMMENT ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS THAN IN ANY PREVIOUS DEBATE AND TO THIS EXTENT DEBATE MAY TURN OUT TO HAVE BEEN USEFUL. SO FAR, WE HAVE DETECTED NO SIGN OF ANY INTENT TO RAMROD NEW RESOLUTION THROUGH SC. THIS GIVES US SOME MODEST HOPE THAT WE MAY BE ABLE TO GET, AS FIRST STEP, RE- AFFIRMATION OF 242 AND AS PRELUDE TO SOME KIND OF DIALOGUE. TEKOA commented  
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THAT HE WAS NOT YET OPTIMISTIC, ALTHOUGH HE AGREED THERE WAS GREAT DEAL OF TALK ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS. UNFORTUNATELY, HE HAD NOT YET SEEN ANY SIGNS THAT ARABS ARE READY " TO PEEL OFF" SUCH IMPEDIMENTS AS JARRING MEMO AND SC RESES. OF COURSE IT MAY BE POSSIBLE THAT OPENING IS DEVELOPING FOR RENEWED US INITIATIVE ON INTERIM ARRANGEMENT, ALTHOUGH HE IS NOT YET CERTAIN THAT ZAYYAT IS READY ON BASIS " OF CERTAIN EXCHANGES" ISRAEL HAS HAD WITH US. AT ANY RATE, SCALI SAID, WE WILL HAVE A MONTH TO THINK ABOUT DEBATE AND AT PRESENT WE ARE NOT IN SUCH A BAD POSITION. TEKOA SPECULATED THAT THERE WAS FAIR HOPE SC CONSENSUS OR RES MIGHT INCLUDE CALL ON PARTIES TO ENTER NEGOTIATING PROCESS.

9. TEKOA AGAIN NOTED THAT REFERENCES TO JARRING MEMO HAD BEEN LESS THAN EXPECTED; BUT, IF IT IS BROUGHT TO LIFE, IT WILL BE OBSTACLE TO SYG, AND HE HAD TOLD SYG THIS. HE HAD ALSO TOLD SYG THAT ZAYYAT'S QUESTIONS HAD RAISED VERY BASIC QUESTION OF HOW ANY GOVT CAN DISCUSS SENSITIVE MATTERS WITH UN IF AT LATERPOINT ONE PARTY CAN FORCE PUBLICATION OF THIS COMMUNICATION. SYG HAD TOLD HIM THAT HE WOULD BE VERY CAREFUL. TEKOA ALSO MENTIONED APPRECIATION FOR OUR EFFORTS CONCERNING ZAYYAT'S THIRD QUESTION.

10. SCALI REMARKED THAT ISRAELI REFUSAL COOPERATE WITH JARRING OR SYG, IF JARRING MEMO MENTIONED, COULD SERIOUSLY HARM ISRAEL'S INTERNATIONAL POSITION. ISRAEL WOULD AGAIN APPEAR TO BE PRINCIPAL BLOCK TO NEGOTIATIONS. TEKOA REPLIED THAT HE KNOWS THAT HIS GOVT WILL NOT ACCEPT JARRING EXCEPT ON BASIS THAT HE IS BOUND ONLY BY 242. SCALI COMMENTED, " SPEAKING AS NEWSMAN NOT DIPLOMAT", HE BELIEVED ISRAEL WOULD SUFFER IN WORLD OPINION IF IT AGAIN TURNED DOWN JARRING COLD. TEKOA REPLIED THAT JARRING SEEMS TO BE VERY TIRED MAN AND WE SHOULD LOOK TO SYG AND AVOID SUCH PROBLEM. ALSO, IT WOULD NOT BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR JARRING TO DISASSOCIATE HIMSELF FROM HIS MEMO AND GA RESES SINCE HE HAD DONE THAT VERY THING IN LETTER TO ISRAEL AFTER UNSATISFACTORY 1970 GA RES.

11. SCALI AGAIN NOTED THAT ISRAEL MUST NOT PERMIT ITSELF TO BE SEEN AS BLOCKING NEGOTIATIONS FOR PRESSURES WILL MOUNT ON ALL OF US. TEKOA REPLIED THAT WORLD PUBLIC OPINION WAS NOT " A CENTRAL FACTOR" IN ISRAELI THINKING. ISRAELIS BELIEVE IT WAS BETTER TO BE ALIVE AND UNPOPULAR RATHER THAN POPULAR BUT  
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DEAD. AT ANY RATE, TEKOA H SAID, ISRAEL IS READY FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND WOULD LIKE INTERIM ARRANGEMENT DISCUSSIONS. IF ABLE PEOPLE REPRESENTED BOTH SIDES IN SUCH DISCUSSIONS, HE BELIEVED VERY USEFUL PROCESS COULD UNFOLD. HE SAID HE WANTED TO MAKE CLEAR THAT ISRAEL MUST TAKE HARD AND REALISTIC POSITION IN VIEW OF 25 YEARS OF HISTORY. ISRAEL WANTS NEGOTIATIONS AND WANTS A SETTLEMENT BUT, IF HE COULD BE FRANK, VIETNAM NEGOTIATING HISTORY HAS SHOWN THAT SIGNATURE ON A DOCUMENT IS NOT SUFFICIENT. A SETTLEMENT MUST BE CLEARLY ACCEPTED IN GOOD FAITH. SEVERAL LITTLE INDICATORS DURING DEBATE HAD REINFORCED ISRAELI CAUTION; FOR EXAMPLE, ALTHOUGH ALGERIAN FONMIN HAD GIVEN GENERALLY MODERATE SPEECH, HE HAD REFUSED TO SIT NEXT TO HIM, AND ALSO ZAYYAT SEEMINGLY CANNOT EXCLUDE SUCH STATEMENTS AS CALLING ISRAELIS "ALIENS".

12. SCALI NOTED THAT WE CANNOT FORGET NEWS- MAKING VALUE OF ZAYYAT' S " APPEAL FOR HOPE" AND WE MUST CONSIDER POSSIBLE CONSEQUENCES IF EGYPT DOES NOT RECEIVE " SOME HOPE". HE NOTED THAT SOME PERSONS, INCLUDING ZAYYAT, HAVE TOLD US THAT FONMIN EBAN HAS BEEN OPENLY STATING THAT ISRAELI STRATEGY IS TO CLOSE OFF ALL EGYPTIAN OPTIONS BUT ONE. THIS WAS NOT HELPFUL. TEKOA H PROFESSED BELIEVE THIS WAS PRESS SPECULATION BUT SCALI DISPUTED THIS, SAYING IT EXAMPLE OF HOW BACKSTAGE BRAGADOCCIO UNDERCUTS VALUE OF PUBLICLY CONCILIATORY WORDS. TEKOA H REPLIED EGYPTIANS HAVE OPTION OF GETTING INTO NEGOTIATING PROCESS IN WHICH THEY COULD TRY TO PUT ISRAEL ON SPOT; THEY COULD ENTER THIS PROCESS, AS HE HAD CLEARLY SPELLED OUT IN DEBATE, WITHOUT ACCEPTING ISRAELI VIEWPOINTS.

13. SCALI SAID HE HAD TO ADMIT THAT WE WERE STILL NOT SURE WHAT ZAYYAT' S REAL OBJECTIVES ARE. BUT, HE CONTINUED, HE HAD COVERED NUMBER OF WARS AS CORRESPONDENT AND SOME OF THESE WARS HAD RESULTED FROM IRRATIONAL DECISIONS BY PEOPLE WHOM WE WOULD HAVE NORMALLY THOUGHT TO BE RATIONAL. WE NOTED THAT MUCH OF PRESENTATION BY ZAYYAT AND OTHER ARABS HAD BEEN A SAD RECITATION OF MISSED OPPORTUNITIES. SPEECHES HAD BROUGHT OUT SO VERY CLEARLY ARAB CHAGRIN THAT THEY HAD NOT AT MANY TIMES IN LAST 25 YEARS AGREED TO THEN EXISTING STATUS QUO. WE HOPED YEAR FROM NOW WE DID NOT LOOK BACK TO THIS DEBATE AND SADLY CON- CLUDE THAT THIS TIME ISRAEL HAD MISSED BOAT. TEKOA H AGREED ALL OF US WITHIN NEXT MONTH HAVE TO STUDY SITUATION VERY CAREFULLY. CONFIDENTIAL

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